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The Suffragist

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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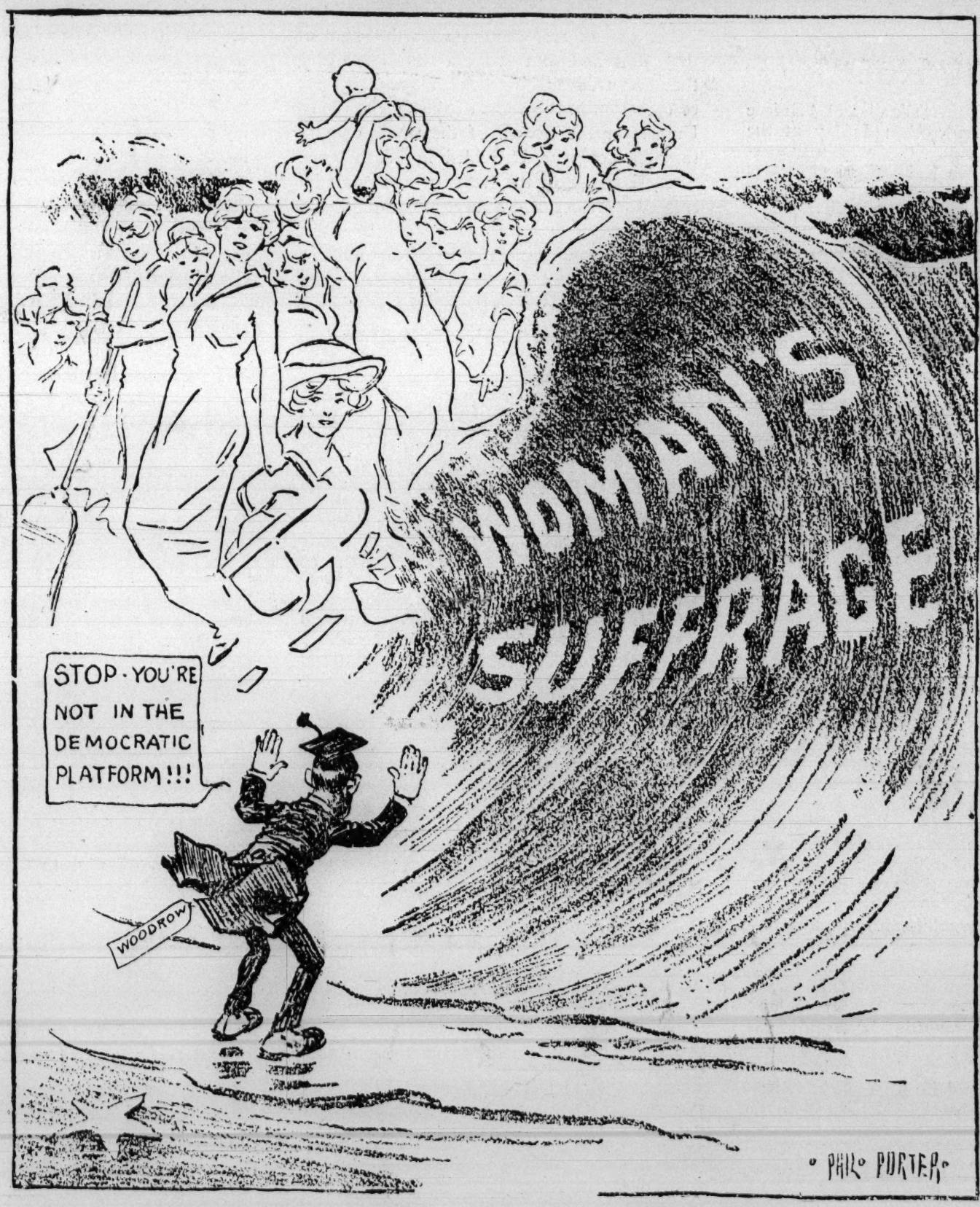
VOL. II FEBRUARY 28, 1914 No. 9



THE NEW CANUTE AND THE NEW FREEDOM

Courtesy of Newspaper Enterprise Association, Chicago

NOTES OF THE WEEK

SITUATION IN GONGRESS.

Senator Bristow of Kansas criticized the President on the floor of the Senate for his "evasive political strategy" in dealing with the question of Woman Suffrage. Senator Sutherland of Utah followed Senator Bristow with an unanswerable argument for the extension of the vote to women.

Congressman Knowland of California attacked the action of the House Democratic caucus for refusing to the Representatives an opportunity to vote on the question of Woman Suffrage, and for declaring their opposition to the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment.

COURSE OF SUFFRAGE LECTURES.

The first of the six Lenten lectures arranged by Mrs. John Jay White, took place February the 19th.

SUFFRAGE PLAYS.

"How the Vote Was Won" and "Before Sunrise" were presented last Friday at the Columbia Theatre under the stage-managership of Mrs. Randolph Keith Forrest.

ELLA FLAGG YOUNG ENROLLED.

Members of the Congressional Union will be glad to learn that we have enrolled among new members the distinguished name of Ella Flagg Young, Superintendent of Schools, Chicago. Mrs. Young is without question one of the three most eminent educators in the United States, and may properly be counted one of the great educators of the world. That a woman of such acknowledged distinction and power should endorse the work and the policy of the Congressional Union cannot fail to be a source of deep gratification to all members.

HOW THEY WOULD HAVE DONE IT IN ENGLAND.

"Votes for Women," the English Suffrage paper edited by Frederick and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, devotes space in the issue of February 6 to an account of the Working Women's Deputation to the President. The article concludes:

"The President's reactionary attitude, if correctly reported, should make those of our American sisters who do not already realize this, understand how a similar attitude in our own Prime Minister, coupled with discourtesy on his part and provocative action on the part of the police, have driven Englishwomen, step by step, to extremes of militancy.

"Let those American delegates picture the White House surrounded with 6,000 police to prevent their entry, while an inspector conveyed to them a curt refusal to see them or to listen to their grievance—and let them picture those same women being buffeted and assaulted by the police for several hours before they obtained the mercy of arrest, and they will gain some idea of what has been described in the Party organs as the hooliganism—not of the Government and its paid officials—but of the women themselves."

GEO. C. SHAFFER
Florist
Phone, 2406 Main 14th and Eye Sts. N. W.
Washington, D. C.

TREASURER'S REPORT

It was once said that one's interest in anything could be pretty accurately guaged by the hold on the purse strings. This is peculiarly true of the Suffrage movement. Interest in this cause brings contributions to its fund from every individual member of its organization, no matter how limited the means of that individual may be.

The Congressional Union is not a local organization, and contributions to its work come from all parts of the country. Much money is needed to carry on the regular work of the year, and the fund of $50,000 is more than half realized through the interest and generosity of people in all parts of the United States.

Let us not rest content with this sum of fifty thousand, but strive onward, realizing that every dollar given means sympathy and co-operation in the work of the Congressional Union, for the women of the whole country through Congress assembled in Washington. Every increase in the treasury means an increased efficiency and a larger field of usefulness.

Send something, no matter how small, for the work this year, to the Treasurer.

MRS. MARY MORRIS LOCKWOOD,
Room 16, Kellogg Building,
Washington, D. C.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD $50,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.

List of Contributors from February 15th to February 24th, 1914.

Elizabeth M. Bell	$10.00
Mrs. Elbert H. Gary (per Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont)	1,000.00
Mrs. Lewis Nixon (per O. H. P. Belmont)	100.00
Mr. and Mrs. L. B. Bishop	5.00
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Miss Mary Conkle	.50
Miss Von Kessler	1.00
Mrs. James Ginns	1.00
Mrs. Annie Arniel	2.00
Collection	5.24
Mrs. Henry Lockwood (Collected)	5.00
Anonymous	10.00
Boston Equal Suffrage Assn. for Good Government (Collected	28.00
Caroline Hoffman (per Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Jr.)	3.00
Dr. Hannah Thompson	.50
Sale of Tickets	470.75
Membership Fees	5.51
Total	$1,659.00
Previously acknowledged in "The Suffragist"	27,769.93
Total to February 24th	$29,428.93

DEMONSTRATION PLANS MATURING.

Plans for organizing State demonstrations in every part of the country are progressing more successfully every day. Organizers are being sent North, South, East and West, and interest in this tremendous undertaking becomes warmer as the plans become better formulated.

No state in the Union can afford to withold its interest or its co-operation in an undertaking of such National importance. It should be the aim of every Suffragist in the United States to lend herself to this movement for a nation-wide demonstration of women's interest in Government in such whole-hearted fashion that no Senator or Representative in Congress will ever again be able to say as a Senator from Missouri said last August: "When it is proved to me that the women of my state want it, I'll vote for it, and not until then." Or to voice the archaic opinion of the gentleman from Arizona, who breezily stated that he had yet to see that woman suffrage was any issue at all, much less a National one, so he did not see why he should bother about a Constitutional Amendment.

The object and aim of this Nation-Wide Demontration, with its culmination on the steps of the National Capitol, is to bring before the entire Democratic Party the fact that woman suffrage is a National issue, and not a matter for exclusive State jurisdiction. The way to drive a fact home to any body of people is so to present that fact that it comes into forcible visual contract with the party in question, and becomes a self-evident fact.

A procession of many thousands of women marching down Pennsylvania Avenue to the doors of the Capitol, asking that their cause be made a matter of serious consideration, will gather force and impetus by a background of a series of similar demonstrations in every State represented in that Capitol.

The interest and help of every individual woman, believing in the principles of Democracy being put into active practise, is asked and needed.

Get the interest of every person in your circle of acquaintances in the demonstration. Distribute pledge cards to march in the procession in your State or in Washington. Measure your contribution to this great final demonstration to the Democratic party of our strength, by your real interest in the cause, and send as liberal a donation as possible to the Treasurer of the Congressional Union, Washington, D. C.

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Nation-Wide Demonstration, May 2d.

Word has been received from Miss Martha S. Kimball, of Portsmouth, N. H., President of the New Hampshire Equal Suffrage Association, that New Hampshire is making active preparations for a demonstration on May 2nd. The Board of the New Hampshire Equal Suffrage Association will meet early in March to decide on the exact form the demonstration will take. It is expected at present, that it will probably be a large open-air meeting. Miss Mary Gay, of Boston, has been active in starting the demonstration in New Hampshire and had a conference on the subject with Miss Kimball, the State President, when the latter was in Boston.

Mrs. Emma Smith DeVox, who is organizing the demonstrations in the States of the far West, is at present in Idaho, and has met there with great success. At a meeting of the Boise Chapter of the National Council of Women Voters, held in Boise on the 16th of February, plans were put on foot for the Idaho demonstration on the 2nd. At this same meeting the following resolution was passed by a unanimous standing vote:

"The enfranchised women of Idaho send greetings to their sisters in the East struggling for voice and representation in the Government, of which they are a part, and pledge to them not only their sympathy but also their moral and *political* support in their efforts to obtain the submission of a Constitutional Amendment, through which equal Civil Rights shall be forever granted to the women of the United States."

This resolution was telegraphed by Miss Margaret S. Roberts, President of the Idaho Chapter of the National Council of Women Voters to Miss Paul, Chairman of the Congressional Union.

On Thursday, February 19th, a conference was held at the home of Mrs. Lawrence Lewis in Philadelphia, at which arrangements were made for the Delaware demonstration, to be held on the 2nd of May. Those present at the conference were: Miss Mabel Vernon, Organizer of the Congressional Union for Delaware; Mrs. Bayard Hillis, daughter of the late Senator Bayard of Delaware; Miss Alice Paul, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis.

As a result of this conference, Mrs. Hillis undertook the chairmanship of the procession and demonstration, to be held on the 2nd. Mrs. Hillis at once began work on the procession, and the appointment of sub-committees is already well underway.

Arrangements for the demonstration and procession of the 2nd are proceeding rapidly in Philadelphia, attention being centered at this moment upon the effort to secure Independence Square as the place of meeting at the wind-up of the procession.

Mrs. James Algeo, President of the Woman's Suffrage Party of Rhode Island reports much interest in the May demonstration in that State. There is a possibility, she announces, that a Suffrage Convention may be held in Providence on that date, in order to give greater scope to the demonstration idea. Miss Emily K. Perry, one of the Union's organizers, is going to Rhode Island on the 1st of March, at the invitation of the Woman's Suffrage Party of Rhode Island, in order to assist in plans for the May demonstration.

Miss Mabel Vernon, who has achieved great success during the past half year, as organizer for the Congressional Union in Delaware, will leave about the 1st of March on an extended tour through the Southwestern part of the United States, in order to organize the May 2nd administration in that section of the country. Her trip will cover the States of Arkansas, Kansas, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Texas, Mexico, and Arizona. She will conclude her trip in Nevada, where she will remain for some months in order to assist in the campaign in that State, at the invitation of Miss Ann Martin, President of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society.

CONNECTICUT LINING UP.

Mrs. Annie G. Porritt, of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, sends word that the success of the suffrage parade and pageant to be held in Hartford on May 2nd is already assured. Mrs. Porritt writes:

"The Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association is making a determined effort that the suffrage parade and pageant of May 2nd shall be a success. It is the first demonstration of the kind that has been made in the State, and it is the plan of the Association to make beauty and symbolic meaning of more consequence than mere numbers, as it would be difficult to count upon having an impressive parade if numbers were to be the sole criterion of impressiveness. Consequently the plan of the parade was first carefully drawn by Miss Emily Pierson, the State Organizer, and passed upon by the Executive Board of the C. W. S. A. The cooperation of all the local leagues was then asked—each league being invited to choose a float or section and to become responsible for that part of the plan. An Art Committee, the chairman of which is Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton, was appointed to pass on color schemes and decorations, and all the material for the floats will be assembled in Hartford some little time before the date of the parade.

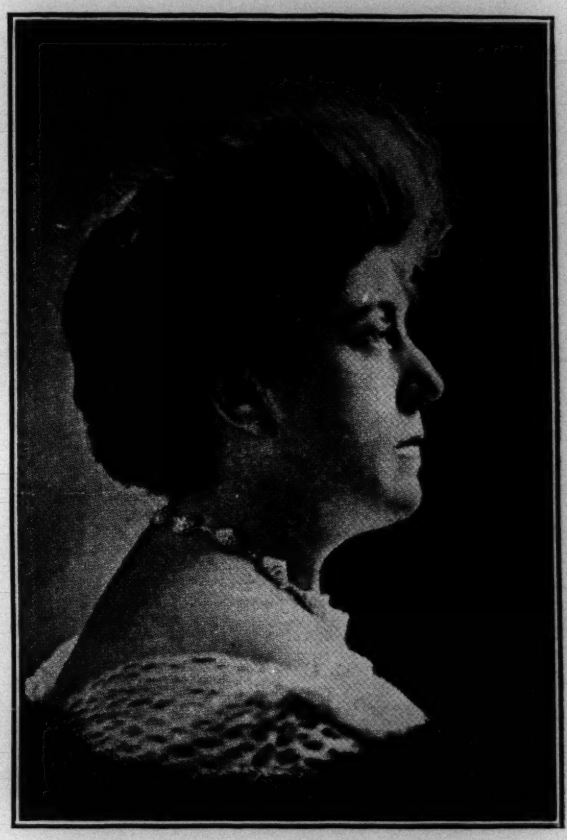
That the Middle West is wide awake was shown during the organizing trip just completed by Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, into the States of Illinois, Missouri, Iowa and Nebraska. Mrs. Stubbs spoke before the board of the Illinois State Association, the Chicago Political Equality League and the Women's City Club. In St. Louis she addressed groups assembled at the Y. W. C. A., at the Commercial Club, where a luncheon was given in her honor, at an open-air meeting on North Sixth Street, at the home of Mrs. David O'Neill, and before the State Republican Committee at the Planters Hotel. This was the first time in history that a woman was allowed to speak before a Missouri State Comimttee which had the forming of a political platform in its hands. Mrs. Stubbs did not discuss the justice of woman suffrage but made a plain statement of the political situation and its bearings on woman suffrage. At the conclusion of the meeting the chairman expressed himself as being thoroughly committed to the cause, but he could not foretell what the action of the committee might be.

She spoke for twenty minutes on the political expediency of incorporating a woman's suffrage plank in the Republican platform of Missouri.

In Des Moines a very profitable conference was held with the State president, Mrs. Flora Dunlap, and plans for the May demonstration were laid. Omaha arranged to have Mrs. Stubbs appear on the same platform with Mr. Hamlin Garland at the Court House, at a meeting to further the iniative petition for woman suffrage.

Congressional Union Ball.

Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont is acting as chairman of a "Votes For Woman" ball, to be given on Tuesday of Easter week at the Willard Hotel. Suffragists in Washington have done everything but dance for the cause, and the suffrage ball already promises to be an immense success. The following committee is assisting Mrs. Belmont in the work of organization: Mrs. Robert Baker, Mrs. Ormsby McCammon, Mrs. James Mitchell, Mrs. John Jay White, Mrs. Harry Hyland Kerr, Miss Edith Goode, Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Mrs. Irving Moller, Mrs. Gilson Gardner, Mrs. Morven Thompson, Miss Elsie Hill, Mrs. Charles Howery, Mrs. William Kent, and Mrs. Nevil Monroe Hopkins. Mr. Ormsby McCammon has promised to act as chairman of the Floor Committee.



Mrs. RANDOLPH KEITH FORREST

THE SUFFRAGE PLAYS,

The Suffrage idea was never more beautifully and effectively expressed than by the plays and dances given last Friday night at the Columbia Theatre. The little curtain-raiser, "Before Sunrise," presented a touching picture of the helplessness of women half a century ago, in the economic field and in the "marriage market." Miss Edith Goode gave an exquisite picture of the young girl of the sixties. The acting throughout the whole play was on the highest level.

"How the Vote Was Won" provoked gales of laughter, and at the same time presented the unanswerable argument of the wage-earner for her right to recognition by the State. Mrs. Mary Kealty Cligett, and Mr. James R. Daly in the leading roles carried the performance off with a great swing. The other parts were acted with great freshness and energy.

Miss Effie Baker celebrated the victory of woman's enfranchisement by a charming dance of joy.

For the smoothness and beauty of the performance the Congressional Union is indebted to the untiring work of the stage manager, Mrs. Randolph Keith Forrest.

VOL. II FEBRUARY 28, 1914 No. 9

The Suffragist

Official weekly newspaper of the

CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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DARLING 34 PRINTER

SENATE AND HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NUMBER ONE Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United State of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

Introduced:
In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.
In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:
In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.
In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:
In the Senate: June 13, 1913, unanimous favorable report.

Discussed:
In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.
September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demands immediate action.
On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst of Arizona, delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.

Present Status:
In the Senate: Awaiting action.
In the House: Before the Judiciary Committee.

WHY A JUDICIARY HEARING?

When, on February 3rd, the House Democrats adopted in caucus a resolution setting forth that, in the judgement of the Democratic Party, woman suffrage was a State and not a National issue, it was the general opinion that the suffrage amendment in Congress had received a final quietus, at least for this year. The President had told two deputations of women that he could do nothing for their cause; the Committee on Rules had refused to appoint a House Suffrage Committee; and finally the Democratic caucus, the all-powerful Democratic caucus, had declared that suffrage was a matter not for Congress but for State legislatures to deal with. What more could be done with this Congress? One thing. Convince the Judiciary Committee that the caucus, for once in its awe-inspiring history, had made a mistake; that Mr. Heflin of Alabama and the 123 Representatives who voted for his resolution, were not in possession of the facts; that woman suffrage is eminently a National issue, and must be dealt with by Congress. If the Judiciary Committee can be convinced, then, if it is honest, it must report the suffrage bill out and it must report favorably.

It was on these grounds that the Congressional Union asked the Judiciary Committee for a hearing, and it was on these grounds that the hearing was granted. The Judiciary Committee is at least curious to learn why woman suffrage is a National issue. As long as men admit curiosity their minds are not hopelessly closed to the appeal of reason. They can learn. Until the Judiciary Committee definitely refuses to report the bill out we shall continue to hope that woman suffrage will be dealt with by the present Congress.

THAT CONVENIENT STATES' RIGHTS DOCTRINE.

It was the easiest thing in the world for the Democratic caucus to avoid responsibility by declaring the suffrage amendment a measure for the States rather than for the national Congress to deal with. States Rights as opposed to Federal Rights is one of those hoary old political theories handed down from the early days of the Republic, when Democracy was still in a purely experimental stage and when each one of the "sovereign States" was frightened to death for fear some other "sovereign State" would embroil the rest in a foreign war, or something else as dreadful.

From first to last the States' rights doctrine has been fiercely upheld when a Federal measure was distasteful to the upholders, and it has been peacefully abrogated whenever the proposed Federal measure was agreeable. But it is such a convenient weapon that it is continually kept within reach to use when nothing else is at hand.

For example, take the Beveridge Child Labor Bill, which proposed to do for the products of children's toil exactly what has been done in the matter of adulterated foods, forbid their transmission from State to State. Why did the United States Senate never get a chance to vote on that bill? Because the cry was raised that it was an interference on the part of the Federal Government with the private business of the States. The bill was referred to a sub-committee of the Judiciary, a sort of a miniature Supreme Court, and the sub-committee declared the bill unconstitutional! Thus the sovereign States of the South, where—on occasions—the doctrine of States' rights is almost a religion, were enabled to continue to enrich their cotton magnates by the night work of babies. States rights did the trick for them.

But no southern senator or representative said a word about States rights when the Shackleford bill to appropriate millions of dollars to build good roads in the South was introduced, or when Federal aid for agricultural colleges was suggested, or when Federal bills for the nation-wide protection of game birds was passed. A States rights man, Linthicum of Maryland, is at the present time working for nation-wide protection of fresh-water fish, because it has been demonstrated that no State, however stringent its laws protecting food fishes, can protect its own streams.

The whole conservation program is an illustration of the enforced yielding of States to the policy of Federal control. Nobody doubts the wisdom of that policy when it is shown that any issue at stake affects more than a local area. A congressional majority, for example, agreed that Congress had a perfect right to send a Federal commission into West Virginia to investigate conditions of labor in the coal mines, where for months a bitter struggle between the operations and the miners had been waged. A majority voted for the two Federal commissions now investigating the Calumet and Hecla strike in Michigan and the coal strike in southern Colorado. Federal interference was called for in all those instances. Congress decided that.

HOW ABOUT DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS?

The strongest argument against the decision of the Democratic caucus, that woman suffrage is a State and not a National issue is the amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people. There is an instance of Federal invasion of States rights on a magnificent scale. That amendment changed a whole political system. It altered the whole conduct and character of the State legislatures. It totally destroyed an old political order and created a new one. And the members of Congress and the members of the State legislatures knew that it would when they voted for it. Yet two-thirds of both houses of Congress, including the States rights upholders, did vote for it, and the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, including some of the southern States, ratified the action of Congress. Georgia it is true voted against ratification, and several States of the South refrained from ratifying, but without the approval of some of the southern States no Federal amendment could be carried. Many of the men who are now declaring that woman suffrage is a matter strictly for State action voted to allow a Federal amendment to change their method of choosing United States Senators.

Woman suffrage is a national issue because the women have made it a national issue. Women want to vote, but more than that they want other women to vote. They want more than local power to alter social conditions. They want the power, for example, to put a stop to child labor and illiteracy in the States rights States. They want to work for civilization on a nation-wide scale. And they can do that only when the women of the country are all enfranchised. They have demanded a Federal amendment for woman suffrage. They will never cease to press their demand until it is granted. Therefore, the Democratic caucus—or some other caucus—will have to admit that woman suffrage is a national issue. It may as well do it now.

Woman Suffrage Amendment in the House

A hearing of the Woman Suffrage Amendment will be held before the House Judiciary Committee on Tuesday morning, March 3rd, in the House Office Building, at 10 A. M.

There will be a notable group of speakers at this important suffrage hearing. Mrs. Glendower Evans, a member of the Minimum Wage Commission of Massachusetts, will preside. Some of the other speakers will be: Mr. William Draper Lewis, dean of the law school of the University of Pennsylvania; Mr. Gifford Pinchot, Senator Bristow of Kansas, Crystal Eastman Benedict, author of "Wage Accidents and the Law"; Mrs. Mary Beard, wife of Professor Charles Beard of Columbia University; Dr. Cora Smith King, Treasurer of the National Council of Women Voters; Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, and Mrs. William Kent, wife of Congressman Kent of California.

This hearing will be the beginning of an energetic campaign for the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the House. Up to the present time suffragists have asked for the formation of a special committee on Woman Suffrage, similar to the Suffrage Committee already existing in the Senate. They believed that a question so momentous as that of woman suffrage should be removed from the jurisdiction of a committee already overburdened with work. The House preferred to leave the amendment within control of the Judiciary Committee; upon the Judiciary Committee, therefore, the suffragists will concentrate their efforts in the future.

The members of the Judiciary Committee are as follows: Democratic members—Henry D. Clayton (Chairman) of Alabama, Edwin Y. Webb of North Carolina, Walter I. McCoy of New Jersey, Daniel J. McGillicuddy of Maine, Louis Fitz Henry of Illinois, Charles C. Carlin, of Virginia, John C. Floyd of Arkansas, Robert Y. Thomas, Jr., of Kentucky, H. Garland Dupre of Louisiana, Jack Beall of Texas, Joseph Taggart of Kansas, John B. Peterson of Indiana, John F. Carew of New York, and John J. Mitchell of Massachusetts.

Republican members: Henry G. Danforth of New York, Andrew J. Volstead of Minnesota, John M. Nelson of Wisconsin, Dick T. Morgan of Oklahoma, L. C. Dyer of Missouri, and George S. Graham of Pennsylvania.

Progressive member: Walter M. Chandler of New York.

Some Figures for the Judiciary Committee

Soon after the news went over the world that the State of Washington had enfranchised its women, a distinguished anti-suffragist in England told an audience that the apparent victory for the suffragists was really nothing to boast of. "Washington, after all," she assured her hearers, "is nothing but a city entirely surrounded by British Columbia."

It is not to be expected that Europeans, and especially insular Europeans, will always be able to distinguish between cities and States of the same name, and it follows that they cannot invariably draw proper conclusions as to the strength of the woman vote in the United States. But it is deplorably true that the average eastern man and woman, and in fact the average Congressman, has almost as vague an idea of the suffrage situation. A man in New York City picks up his morning paper and notices in the dispatches that the women of California have recalled a judge, or that the National Council of Women Voters has announced, etc. It rarely occurs that Mr. Average Man is moved thereby to think seriously on the growing political power of women. California to a New Yorker seems far away, and a National Council of Women Voters to men is but a name.

The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives has graciously consented to receive a deputation from the Congressional Union to discuss the matter of reporting out the bill for a suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution. If the Judiciary Committee as a body possessed a clear knowledge of the voting strength of the women of the suffrage States it is highly probable that the suffrage bill would be reported out and reported favorably without the urge of a special hearing. The Judiciary Committee is therefore invited to consider a few facts about the woman voter's strength in ten States and the possible situation as it may be after the elections of 1916. The figures, which were compiled by Mrs. Mary Beard, may be depended upon as carefully analysed.

S. GLENDOWER EVANS
To Preside at Hearing

ELECTORAL VOTES OF WOMEN.

The total electoral vote is 531. The number of votes necessary to a choice is 266. Women possess power to change 84 electoral votes, their power being divided as follows:

Arizona casts 3 electoral votes, and the other voting States cast—

California	13
Colorado	6
Idaho	4
Illinois	29
Kansas	10
Oregon	5
Utah	4
Washington	7
Wyoming	3
	84

By 1916 nine more States may be added to the ten where women now vote. If all the nine came in we should have added to the electoral vote controlled by women:

Montana	4
Nebraska	8
Nevada	3
New Jersey	14
New York	45
North Dakota	5
Ohio	24
Pennsylvania	38
South Dakota	5
	146
Plus the secured	84
	230

Lacking 36 electoral votes necessary to a choice of Presidential candidate.

Senatorial Voting Strength of Women

The suffrage States send eighteen men to the United States Senate. At present Illinois women have not the right to vote for members of Congress, but they strongly influence their representatives in both houses. However, minimizing the strength of the women voters in the upper house, they control the political destinies of eighteen Senators.

Connect this fact with the present political situation, that is the control of Government by the Democratic party. The States of Idaho, California, Washington, Wyoming, and Utah are represented by Republican Senators. The following Democratic Senators represent suffrage States:

H. F. Ashurst.....Arizona
M. A. Smith.....Arizona
G. E. Chamberlain.....Oregon
Harry Lane .....Oregon
W. H. Thompson .....Kansas
C. S. Thomas .....Colorado
J. F. Shafroth.....Colorado

Number of Senators representing suffrage States, 7.

Democratic majority in the Senate, 7.

At present the Democratic majority is only 6, the death of Senator Bacon of Georgia reducing the party strength. The potential majority exactly equals the number of Democratic Senators elected in States where women vote.

Seven and seven is as easily put together as two and two. Let us see. Suppose the women of those seven States should decide to censure the Democratic party for its inaction in the matter of the Federal amendment giving votes to the women of the United States? It is a known fact that women are much less party bound than men. They vote, as a rule, not for a party but for a measure. They use their votes to get what they want. Women want power to work out their ideals of government. The voting women are beginning to understand that they could have much more power if women in all the states had the vote. How much pressure will have to be brought on these women to smash the Democratic majority in the Senate?

Lower House Strength of Women Voters

The strength of women voters in the House of Representatives does not look quite so impressive when reduced to figures, but it is large enough to furnish food for reflection. The whole number of Representatives is 435, of which 37 are elected by the votes of women as well as men. Illinois women have considerable influence over 37 more, but the actual proportion of Representatives from suffrage States is one-eleventh of the whole number. Suppose, however, that four large States, where active suffrage campaigns are being carried on should add suffrage amendments to their constitutions. Suppose, before 1916, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio should enfranchise their women. That would add 113 Representatives owning women constituents, bringing the whole number up to 150—more than one-third of the whole House.

Speeches in Congress on the Amendment

During the week closing February 21 two remarkable debates on woman suffrage took place in the House of Representatives. On Tuesday, February 18th, at the close of the morning session, the calendar being in order, Senator Ashurst of Arizona moved that Joint Resolution No. 1 be laid before the Senate. Several Senators, as Senator Ashurst explained, had expressed a desire to speak to the resolution. It was not desired that a vote be taken. The secretary having read the resolution, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women, Senator Bristow of Kansas asked unanimous consent to discuss the resolution without the limitation of the five-minute rule. The part of his speech which will most interest the readers of THE SUFFRAGIST is given below. Senator Bristow said in part:

"I shall most earnestly support this resolution because I believe its enactment will be for the best interests of my country. The consideration of this amendment has been interesting and useful from any educational point of view, because the more that woman suffrage is discussed and the better its operation is understood the more it will commend itself to the judgment of right-thinking men.

"Its consideration has also brought to the attention of the country some interesting characteristics of our Chief Executive and in this respect it has also been educational. Our President was called upon in the early part of December by a delegation of ladies * * *. To their earnest appeal the President made the following reply:

"'I want you ladies, if possible, if I can make it clear to you, to realize just what my present position is. Whenever I walk abroad I realized that I am not a free man! that I am under arrest. I am so carefully and admirably guarded that I have not even the privilege of walking the streets. That is, as it were, typical of my present transference from being an individual with his mind on any and every subject to being an official of a great government, and incidentally, or so it falls out under our system or government, the spokesman of a party.

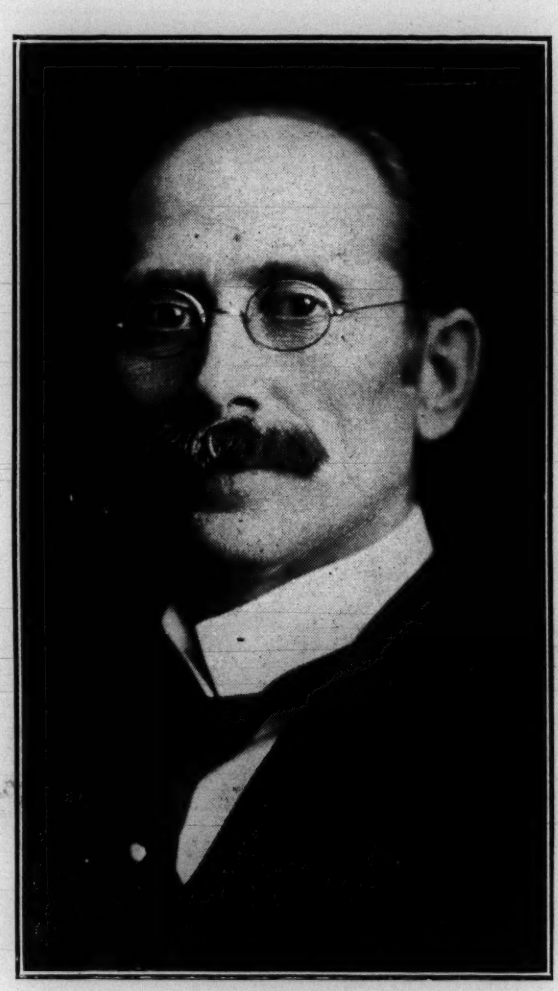
"'I set myself this very strict rule when I was governor of New Jersey and have followed it as President—that I am not at liberty to urge upon Congress in messages policies which have not had the organic consideration of those for whom I am spokesman.

"'In other words, I have not yet presented any legislature my private views on the subject, and I never shall, because I conceive that to be part of the whole process of government, that *I shall be spokesman for somebody, not myself.*'

"'I am an individual: when I am spokesman of an organic body I am a representative. For that reason, you see, I am by my own principles shut out in the language of the street, from "starting anything." *I have to confine myself to those things which have been embodied as promises to the people at an election.* That is the strict rule I set for myself.'

"After receiving this remarkable address from the Chief Executive, these good women went away sore in spirit and sick at heart. They had read of the fine courage of our President and his manly independence—they had not expected to find such abject servitude to party commands. So they went away, some in sadness and sorrow; others with possibly some symptoms of doubt and irritation. This was December 8, last.

"But in the evolution of human affairs, another question came before the Chief Executive for his consideration. This subject was not brought before him by the good women of the country but by a representative of the English Government, whose action had been instigated by the American and Canadian trans-continental railroads and British shipping interests. The question was in regard to the payment of tolls by ships passing through the Panama Canal, engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States. Whatever toll charges are imposed by the canal on the traffic between the southern, eastern, and western coasts of the United States will be added to the freight rates which the ships will have to charge and will, therefore, increase their rates and enable the transcontinental railroads of the United States and Canada



JOSEPH L. BRISTOW
Senator from Kansas

to charge just that much more for their traffic, which is carried on in competition with the ships. So these gigantic corporations, therefore, are intensely interested in this tolls question. Upon this subject the Democratic platform, which is the law that prescribes the official and mental operations and activities of Mr. Wilson, so he says, contains the following declaration:

"'We favor the exemption from toll of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the canal.'

"Upon that platform Mr. Wilson stood and was elected. He received most of the votes from those sections of the country vitally interested in the tolls question. The wisdom of such a policy was never questioned during the campaign. The Democratic House of Representatives and a large majority of the Democrats in the Senate voted in harmony with the declarations of the platform. Yet, in the face of this party declaration and the statement of Mr. Wilson to the ladies as to its binding effect upon him, in a communication addressed by the President to Mr. Marbury, of Baltimore, dated February 5, 1914, we find the following:

"'I have your letter of January 30 * * *. With regard to the question of canal tolls, my opinion is very clear. The exemption constitutes a very mistaken policy from every point of view. It is economically unjust; as a matter of fact, it benefits for the present, at any rate, only a monopoly; and it seems to me in clear violation of the terms of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. There is, of course, much honest difference of opinion as to the last point, as there is, no doubt, as to the others; but it is at least debatable, and if the promises we make in such matters are debatable I for one do not care to debate them. I think the country would prefer to let no question arise as to its whole-hearted purpose to redeem its promises in the light of any reasonable construction of them rather than debate a point of honor.'

"So it appears in matters in which the Canadian and American transcontinental railroads and the English Government are concerned that the binding effect of the Democratic national platform is not so potent with Mr. Wilson as it was where the good women of the country were appealing to him in behalf of right and justice for their sex. When they asked to be given a chance to protect their homes from vice and to be accorded a wider opportunity for usefulness in serving their country and promoting the welfare of its people, he could express no opinion as to the desirability of such legislation. To use his language, 'I conceive that to be part of the whole process of government, that I shall be spokesman for somebody, not myself,' and that 'I have to confine myself to those things which have been embodied as promises to the people at an election. That is the strict rule I set for myself.' This was his answer to the ladies. But when the powerful railroad influences, behind the mask of 'English interests,' got into action this strict rule which he set for himself, disappeared, and he declared that 'the exemption constitutes a very mistaken policy from every point of view.' When the women asked a word from him in behalf of suffrage, he said that he had to confine himself 'to those things which have been embodied as promises to the people at an election.' When the English interests appealed to him, he forgot the promises made 'to the people at an election' and was very willing to speak for somebody besides himself. It is true that we have expended about four hundred millions of our own money in constructing this canal on our own territory, and that the Democratic House of Representatives, a Republican Senate by an overwhelming majority, Mr. Taft, the President of the United States, and the Democratic national convention all thought we had a perfect right to permit our own ships engaged in our domestic commerce to go through free of tolls, if we saw fit to do so. But England claims that this must not be done without her consent, though her ships can not engage in our domestic commerce, and she has not directly or indirectly invested a dollar in the construction of the canal. The greed of the railroads and the audacious claims of Great Britain seem far more potent with our President than the appeal of the womanhood of the nation.

"So, I say, the consideration of this amendment has been educational in more ways than one."

Mr. Knowland Surprises the House

A dramatic surprise was sprung in the House of Representatives last week by Representative Knowland of California.

On Friday, February 20, the House went into Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, it being agreed that one hour and a quarter of the time be controlled by Mr. Fitzgerald of New York and the remaining hour and a quarter by Mr. Gillett of Massachusetts.

The first period was occupied by an animated debate on the urgent deficiency appropriation bill, which has for its object the building of "ample and elegant quarters sufficient to comfortably house every activity of the Government," to quote Mr. Clark of Florida who rose first in defense of the measure. The last fifteen minutes of the first hour and a half controlled by Mr. Fitzgerald was given over to a short debate on the proposal to cripple the parcels-post law. If fact that first hour and half was orthodox Congressional procedure—business, commerce, title deeds, all the things Congressmen's minds deal with.

Mr. Gillett's turn having arrived he yielded twenty minutes to Mr. Knowland of California. To the astonishment of the House Mr. Knowland said: "Mr. Chairman, the attitude of the Democratic Party, now in control of every branch of the Government, upon the live and important question of equal suffrage is of more than passing interest to the people of California and other western States where women have been granted the ballot. Its successful operation in these localities has fully justified the wisdom of the movement and furnished the strongest possible argument in favor of the submission by Congress of a constitutional amendment extending the franchise to all the States.

"Representative women, advocates of this great cause, have presented their case at the National Capitol with dignity and commendable perseverence. It is my purpose briefly to recall some of their experiences, which have been most enlightening from many standpoints.

"They have been iniated into the game of politics as played under the new and 'improved' rules."

A storm of protest arose from half a dozen Representatives who insisted that Mr. Knowland was not speaking to the question before the House. The House of Representatives should apply to the women's clubs for a parliamentarian. It took some sharp debate to establish on this occasion that there wasn't any question before the House, that they were in a Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union. The Chair having so ruled, Mr. Knowland continued. He described the events of the deputation of December 8th, and also those attending the deputation of working women on February 2nd. And then he turned his attention to the action of the Rules Committee in refusing to a point a suffrage committee in the House. Mr. Knowland said in part:

"The extraordinary powers lodged in the Committee on Rules having been a subject of newspaper discussion during previous campaigns, it was decided to make an appeal in that quarter for the creation of a committee on suffrage, a committee that would not be too busy or indifferent to give their case the attention to which it is entitled, and, as Mrs. Ida H. Harper, of New York, declared at the hearing, 'a committee whose appointment will hold out to us the hope that ultimately our question will be considered by the National Congress, which is elected to represent all the people, women as well as men.'

The Committee on Rules refused to act. Far be it from me to transgress the rules of the House by mentioning what took place in committee in executive session. I am not a member of that committee and do not possess the knowledge to impart even should I desire to do so. I do know that some of us from the West urged the Republican members of that committee to favor the appeal of the women, and we have great confidence in their good judgment.

I have a newspaper clipping, and intended to get the action of the committee into the Record in that way. If the gentleman from Tennessee, a member of the committee, detects any error in the account, I wish he would call my attention to it.

The newspaper account is one appearing in the Washington Post the day following the adverse action of the committee. The accuracy of the report has never been questioned. I will now read the report from the Washington Post of January 25, 1914:

'Democrats of the House put themselves firmly on record against woman suffrage yesterday, when the House Rules Committee, by a vote of 4 to 4, declined to report out a resolution creating a special committee on woman suffrage. * * * Those voting for the resolution were Representatives Foster, Democrat, of Illinois; Campbell of Kansas, and Lenroot of Wisconsin, Republicans; and Kelly, Progressive, of Pennsylvania.

'Those against were Representatives Pou of North Carolina, Hardwick of Georgia, Garrett of Tennessee, and Cantrill of Kentucky, all Democrats. * * * Representative Henry of Texas and Representative Goldfogle of New York did not attend the meeting. Both were in the city. Both are said to be against the resolution.'

Mr. J. R. Knowland: Finally, desirous of definitely fixing responsibility, it was determined to put the question squarely up to the Democratic caucus, whose dictum is final unless a higher authority intervenes. Sufficient signatures were obtained after some little effort on the part of those interested—many members of the Democratic Party being reluctant to sign without the word from headquarters—and the caucus was finally convened on the night of February 3.

There was much oratory in the caucus, we learn from newspaper accounts, but finally our colleague from Alabama (Mr. Heflin), who has been the most active influence against suffrage in the House, carried the caucus with him by a vote of 123 to 67, the Democratic Party declaring that suffrage was not a national issue. Regardless of this action, I predict that when the next campaign is on they will find this to be one of the most live national issues. A very striking peculiarity of a Democratic caucus is its soothing effect upon those who participate. Members enter roaring like fighting lions and come out meek as lambs.

To further emphasize the position of the party, I quote the following colloquy from the Congressional Record of February 4:

Mr. Lenroot: Will the gentleman (Mr. Underwood), as leader of the majority, use his influence in the House to report that resolution so that we may have an opportunity to vote on it?

The resolution referred to was the one pending for the submission of a constitutional amendment by Congress for the enfranchisement of the several States. To this inquiry Mr. Underwood replied:

I will say to the gentleman from Wisconsin that I would not, because I am not in favor of it. If there is one fundamental principle that my party stands for, it is local self-government.

Being interrogated further he said, and I again quote from the Record:

'Mr. Underwood: I not only said I was opposed to it, but I said the party on this side of the Chamber was opposed to it, and the party that has control of the legislation in Congress certainly has the right openly and aboveboard to say that it will not support a measure if it is not in accordance with its principles.

Mr. Lenroot: That is true; but there is a distinction between supporting a measure and giving the House a right to vote upon the measure.

Mr. Underwood: The gentleman recognizes the fact that we can not vote upon every measure.

Mr. Lenroot: Now, if the gentleman wishes to take the position that the members on that side are unwilling to let the House of Representatives vote upon this question, then he is entirely welcome to take that position.

Mr. Underwood: The gentleman from Wisconsin began his first remark by stating that the Democratic Party had taken its position last night, and it did, when by a two-thirds vote it fixed our position on that matter.'

Mr. Keating: I want to ask the gentleman this question: If after he has stated the Democratic Party's position on the suffrage question he will favor us with the position of the Republican Party?

Mr. J. R. Knowland: It is always a weak argument to attempt to shift responsibility; the women of the country are looking to the party in power.

Mr. Keating: I agree with the gentleman that the women do not expect the Republican Party to take any action, but I wish the gentleman would state the position of the Republican Party, nevertheless.

Mr. J. R. Knowland: I can not, except so far as I am concerned.

Mr. Keating: Can the gentleman as far as his party is concerned?

Mr. J. R. Knowland: I am not authorized to speak for the Republican Party.

Mr. Keating: The gentleman does not know what the position of his party is, but he knows that they never declared in favor of woman suffrage.

Mr. J. R. Knowland: I do know that they have never declared against woman suffrage as the Democratic Party has recently done in caucus and in committee."

Closing his speech, Mr. Knowland said:

"The experience of California under equal suffrage has fully sustained the judgment of the voters of my State in taking the advanced step. Husband and wife, sister and brother, mother and daughter accompany each other to the polls. The election booths are more orderly than ever before. Women closely scrutinize candidates and fully acquaint themselves with their public records.

In closing, let me say to my Democratic friends that the success of the equal-suffrage movement is inevitable. You might as well capitulate now as later. The strength of the cause is its justice." (Applause on the Republican side.)

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The fourth meeting of the series will occur March 12th, the place to be announced later. Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, the brilliant writer, author of "Woman and Economics," etc., will be the speaker. On March 19th, at the home of Mr. William Eno, 1771 N Street, N. W., Mr. Max Eastman, for several years professor of logic at Columbia University, now editor of the "Masses," and a lecturer who delightfully combines philosophy and humor, will be the speaker.

The last of the series will be given at the home of Mrs. John G. Henderson, 16th Street and Florida Avenue, March 28th. Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, distinguished writer and speaker, will be the feature of this meeting.

The hour for all these meetings is 8:30 P. M., price of subscription to entire course $5.00; single lecture, $1.00. Address all communications to Mrs. J. J. White, 2408 Massachusetts Avenue. The following are the list of patronesses:

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PROGRAM OF THE WEEK

SUNDAY, MARCH 1st,

Washington, D. C., Congressional Headquarters, 1420 F Street N. W. ..... 4 to 6.00 P. M.
Tea served followed by informal discussion.

Pythian Temple, 1012 Ninth Street N. W. (4th floor rear) ..... 8.15 P. M.
"How to Work foa Suffrage"—Miss Lucy Burns.

THURSDAY, MARCH 5th

Washington, D. C., Drawing-Room Meeting, Residence of Mrs. Alexander Graham, 1331 Connecticut Avenue ..... 8.30 P. M.
Speaker: Mr. Charles Zueblin.

FRIDAY MARCH 6th

Washington, D. C., Street Meeting, 14th and Kenyon Sts. ..... 8.30 P. M.
Speakers Mrs. E. St.Clair Thompson and Miss Minta Jones

SATURDAY, MARCH 7th

Washington, D. C., Street Meetings, 9th and E Sts; 10th St. and Penna. Ave. ..... 8.30 P. M.
Speakers, Miss Elsie Hill and Miss Doris Stevens.

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